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ABSTRACT

The author describes a study of a racially integrated elementary school in which segregated groups developed on the basis of appearance and mode of dress. The study was conducted in a midwestern town where there were well established black and white communities, as well as more recently established, poorer black and white segments of the population. Information was obtained by means of longitudinal and cross-section nonparticipant observation in one elementary school. Particular mode of dress and clothing were associated with being labeled a school success or failure. Children were observed to be grouped according to neatness, cleanliness, and style of dress. Racial groups were mixed, but social class groups remained separate. As one moved from grade to grade, classroom organization increasingly reflected social class rather than racial background. The author suggests that uniform dress be required in public schools in order to prevent this class segregation from occurring. (AV)

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PATTERNS OF STUDENT DRESS AND APPEARANCE: ASPECTS OF RESEGREGATION IN DESEGREGATED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS *

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'You see two individuals,' he writes, one dressed in fine Red, the other in coarse threadbare Blue: Red says to Blue, "Be hanged and anatomized"; Blue hears with a shudder, and (O wonder of wonders!) marches sorrowfully to the gallows; is there noosed up, vibrates his hour, and the surgeons dissect him, and fit his bones into a skeleton for medical purposes. How is this; or what make ye of your Nothing can act but where it is? Red has no physical hold of Blue, no clutch of him; neither are those ministering Sheriffs and Lord-Lieutenants and the Hangmen and the Tipstaves so related to commanding Red, that he can tug them hither and tither; but each stands distinct within his own skin. Nevertheless, as it is spoken, so it is done; the articulated Word sets all hands in Action; and Rope and Improved-drop perform their work ... Has not your Red hanging-individual a horse-hair wig, squirrel-skins, and a plush gown; whereby all mortals know that he is a Judge?--Society, which the more I think of it astonishes me the more, is founded upon Cloth.

From Sartor Resartus:
The Life and Opinions of
Herr Teufelsdrockh,
by Thomas Caryle

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* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the 76th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Houston, Texas (November 29 - December 3, 1977).1

Educationally, it is being acknowledged that de jure desegregation does not invariably result in de facto desegregation. Somehow, within classrooms, faculty and administrative sectors, as well as informal student activities, school constituents either overtly or covertly realign themselves into familiar patterns of color and class segregation.

An ethnographic approach to the study of de jure public school desegregation ought to reveal the functional and symbolic manner in which de facto resegregation is both achieved and maintained. Implicit in several ethnographic approaches to resegregation (Riffel et al. 1976) is the premise that our national society and culture is structured around persistent color and class inequality; indeed, that structural inequality is a reflex of the state level of sociocultural integration (Fried 1967). As a locus for both acculturation and enculturation in state societies, public schools must somehow manage the contradiction between, in our instance, ideological demands for meritocracy and status achievement as against structural demands for inequality and status ascription (Cohen 1970; Despres 1975). From an evolutionary and historical perspective, we know that public schooling perpetuates stratification and structural inequality (Cohen 1971; Katz 1971; Wilson 1968) as of yet though, there is precious little descriptive information and insight on how this is specifically achieved. Rather than owing to psychological or biological factors, it is here argued that, in plural, stratified societies, success or failure in school is largely affected by sociocultural and structural features quite contingent to academic ability (Henry 1957; McDermott 1974; Rist 1973; Rosenbaum 1975). On quite latent levels then, it is to be expected that efforts at de jure desegregation by color will continue to cue subtle constituent realignments functionally resulting in de facto resegregation (Eddy 1975).

Informal Resegregation

In the study of processes of symbolic realignment and functional resegregation, significant ethnographic questions thus become: (1) In the face of overt de jure desegregation, are there subtle sociocultural cues, or "hidden curriculums" (Jackson 1968) stimulating patterns of resegregation? (2) What are some of the covert mechanisms maintaining resegregation--around what aspects does the process focus? And (3) what are the empirical manifestations of de facto resegregation; what are the behavioral aspects of cross-color and cross-class realignment?

Through a descriptive case example, this paper describes and explains the characteristic manner in which similarities and differences in student clothing and appearance are associated with cross-color as well as differential same-color segregated groupings within and between the classrooms of a historically "desegregated" rural elementary school. Research revealed an unexpected "hidden curriculum" around which revolved a more apparent school and classroom organization. This study reports the finding of a high correlation between mode of dress, socioeconomic condition, and academic standing and status. Similarities and differences in clothing and appearance paralleled patterns of formal academic grouping as well as informal student interaction. Specifically, these patterns corresponded with the color and class alignments in the local community; generally, they correspond to the color and class alignments in the national society (Cox 1948; Landes 1953). It seems as if we are to believe that academic ability and class standing invariably are a reflex of clothing and appearance.

Efforts at public school desegregation seek to negate the stigma of skin color as a basis for differential educational experiences; yet, the basis for ascribed status, differential teaching and learning experiences, and de facto resegregation can be cued by means other than color. In the acculturation

situation, I feel that differing styles of dress and personal appearance conform to Barth's (1969) notion of significant features symbolically employed to mark sociocultural boundaries. Recognizing some of the sociocultural functions of clothing, Linton (1936:416) adds that

> By indicating social status, clothing does not so much facilitate the relations between individuals. It makes it possible for a stranger to determine at once the social category to which the wearer belongs and thus avoid acts or attitudes toward him which would be social errors.

Clothing and appearance are non-academic contingents influencing academic grouping and status; attention to these features yield important clues as to the latent means by which students are segregated by other than achieved factors. Clothing and appearance confer ready information concerning subcultural or ethnic orientation as well as socioeconomic standing. Especially in school situations involving socioeconomically and subculturally heterogeneous populations, the symbolic aspects of clothing and appearance function to group and to stratify just as effectively as manifest color segregation.

This report suggests that prevailing conceptions of the desegregation situation must recognize and attend to the complicating variable of class as well as of color. Color groups are popularly conceived of as monolithic (Green 1970); yet, in the present case, organizational resegregation occurred along socioeconomic and subcultural as well as along color lines.[2] It is suggested that the consideration of uniform school dress hypothetically would do much to alleviate the patterns illustrated here.

Ethnographic Context

With a population of 2,659 (56% of whom are black), Deerfield (pseudonym) is a rural township in the upper midwestern United States.[3] A combination of geography and local history, ecology and settlement pattern, has contributed

to a continuing bicolor character. The social organization of the community is not so much based on color alone as it is in addition to length of residence and degree of land ownership. Originally settled by Quakers and Eastern Yankees, many immigrants from Eastern Europe began arriving in Deerfield around the turn of the century. Though blacks have been native to the area since 1860's, a large migration from nearby industrial centers occurred during the 1940's. Both black and white, residents who have been in the community for some time, and who own property and participate in community government and activities, term themselves "oldtimers." During the 1960's, there was a significant movement of Southern white migrants into the area; for the most part, they came to work in Midwestern fruit farms. During the 1970's, there occurred another major migration of blacks--this time from ravaged urban areas. These Southern whites and urban blacks are referred to as "newcomers;" comparatively landless and economically deprived, they have low status as compared to the black and white "oldtimers." Deerfield is thus composed of four major groups, largely geographically distinct, cross-cut by socioeconomic class as well as by color.

In 1923, Deerfield was the first school district to consolidate its schools under a central administration; in rural areas, school consolidation often results in the desegregation of smaller regional schools. Presently, there are three hundred and fifty students in the well-maintained elementary school building.

Following Eleanor Leacock's (1969) discussion of class distinctions in same-color schooling, Deerfield can be characterized as a bicolor, middle-class school system. Reflecting a pronounced concern with upward mobility, the school seems geared to the transmission of those habits, values, attitudes, skills, and ways of life amenable to success in the larger society rather than in the local community. Indeed, it is being claimed that subtle sanctions

concerning dress and appearance seek to validate acculturation into mainstream Anglo society.

Methodology: Data Base

This report is based on information collected via the longitudinal and cross-section non-participant observation of all classrooms in Deerfield's school system. From preschool through the twelfth grade, every classroom was systematically observed in reference to Jules Henry's (1960) outline as well as to inductively derived categories (Johnson 1976a). Longitudinally, each class was observed all day for three randomly selected days; classes were observed in sequence, from grade to grade. In the present instance, specific observations of student dress and appearance were compared both within and between classes and grade levels.[4] This synthetic methodology established an inclusive perspective revealing patterns of relationship that might otherwise have remained hidden in isolated particulars.

Clothing, Appearance, and School Social Organization

The concern here is not so much with a symbolic interpretation of particular subcultural items of dress and clothing as it is with isolating some significant cultural features contingent to student grouping and status. Particular modes of dress and clothing are associated with being label a school "success" or "failure." In reporting on some of these contingencies as involves urban black kindergarten students, Ray C. Rist (1970:419) notes that

> "As one progressed from Table 1 to Table 2 and Table 3, there was an increasing dissimilarity between each group of children at the different tables on at least four major criteria. The first criteria appeared to be the physical appearance of the child. While the children at Table 1 were all dressed in clean clothes that were relatively new and pressed, most of the children at Table 2, and with only one exception at Table 3, were all quite poorly dressed. The clothes were old and often quite dirty. The children at Tables 2 and 3 also had a noticeably different quality and quantity of

> clothes to wear, especially during the winter months. Whereas the children at Table 1 would come on cold days with heavy coats and sweaters, the children at the other two tables often wore very thin spring coats and summer clothes. The single child at Table 3 who came to school quite nicely dressed came from a home in which the mother was receiving welfare funds, but was supplied with clothing for the children by the families of her brother and sister."

As concerns Deefriield, charts A and B summarize the manner in which distinctive patterns in dress and appearance paralleled the school's formal "tracking" system.

School constituents conceptualized and linguistically labeled styles of "good" and "poor" dress and appearance that were <u>invariably associated</u> with being a "good" or a "poor" student. Charts A and B illustrate implicit norms (there is not a dress code at Deerfield) for "successful" and "unsuccessful" students. Note also that most of these traits, such as differing quality and quantity of clothing, are a reflex of economics; presumably, one has a large quantity and quality of clothing. Thus, the socioeconomic functions of these characteristics; in yet another instance, school success or failure seems, at least, related to socioeconomic condition. In this study of Kwakiutal acculturation, Harry Wolcott (1967) notes the almost compulsive emphasis some village families give to dressing and grooming their children for school. And in their study of Sioux education, Rosalie and Murray Wax (1964:50-51) concur that

> "Some teachers have told us that they praise children with clean clothes (which on the dusty Reservation usually means new clothing), and we are inclined to believe that many do this. The children seize upon this sanction to torment any schoolmate wearing worn, imperfect, or old garments. We were surprised to learn how demanding were the sartorial standards of even the early grades."

The present report does not focus on the specific attitudinal and behavioral correlates and consequences attendant upon similarities and differences in

CHART A

The Social Organization of Dress and Grooming: Clothing

"High" Sections	"Low" Sections
1. Large quantity and variety of clothing.	1. Small quantity and variety of clothing.
2. Frequent changes of clothing.	2. Infrequent changes of clothing.
3. Clothing that is frequently tailored/fitted to body proportions.	3. Clothing that is characteristically ill-fitting; either too large or too small.
4. New clothing.	4. Worn clothing; stuck zippers, worn fabric, missing buttons, unraveled stitching, etc.
5. Clean clothing; pressed and well-maintained.	5. Clothing that is soiled, dingy, and unclean; not usually pressed or well-maintained.
6. Fabrics that are soft; colors that are delicate and intricate.	6. Fabrics and colors that are coarse, bold; undiluted; primary tones and monochromatic colors.
7. Currently stylish and fashionable clothing; coordinated dress for an aesthetic effect.	7. Utilitarian dress; inexpensive T-shirts, sweatshirts, and blue jeans. Infrequent aesthetic effect of coordinated dress.
8. Clothing appropriate to the climate and the school setting.	8. Clothing that is frequently inappropriate to the environment/climate; lack of hats, boots, gloves, raincoats, sweaters, etc. Multipurpose clothing; clothing that is frequently inappropriate ("work" clothing) to a school setting.
9. Dress accessories; sex-specific clothing such as skirts, belts, etc.	9. Lack of dress accessories; characteristic lack of sex-specific dress and accessories.
10. Early, frequent use of "adult" dress and accessories; wristwatches, wallets, jewelry, etc.	10. Infrequent instances of "adult" dress and accessories.

CHART B

The Social Organization of Dress and Grooming: Grooming and Hygiene

"High" Section	"Low" Section
1. Hair closely and frequently cut and trimmed on males.	1. Infrequently cut and trimmed hair on males.
2. Hair decorated and/or elaborately styled of females; black females oiled and brushed their hair, tying it with elaborate hair clips or yarn or braiding it. White females wore their hair long and combed out and decorated with elaborate clips/dying/streaking.	2. Hair infrequently decorated or styled; worn "natural" by both blacks and whites. Hair is often unclean; uncombed.
3. Lack of body odors; odors of physical laboring.	3. Prominent body odors; "sweat."
4. Physical cleanliness.	4. Physical uncleanliness.
5. A "neat" appearance.	5. Lack of a "neat" appearance.

student dress and appearance; yet, for both black and white, "poorly" dressed and groomed students were homogeneously grouped by both teachers and their peers. Ray C. Rist (1972:2490250) adds that

> "The social contingencies of (1) physical hygiene, (2) darkness of skin, (3) social status of parents ... were of equal, if not greater, importance in evaluating the child's potential educability. Those children who possessed any of the traits of poor physical hygiene, dark skin, low family status, low social interaction ... were all evaluated by the teacher as being 'slow learners.'"

As concerns peers, in their study of adolescent attitudes in an Anglo high school, the home economists Joanne Eicher and Eleanor Kelley (1974:18) conclude that

> "In School, their (poor parents) children faced further tangible evidence of the social barrier between haves and havenots. They did not dress and look alike, and the differences were easily seen.... 'Not dressed right' was an intentionally vague term that sometimes bought comments about upper and middle class girls who were criticized for their clothing combinations, lack of cleanliness, and inadequate clothing care, or for wearing unfashionable clothes. Further, girls who did not 'dress right' were described as those who came from poor families, did not care how they looked, or had poor grades and poor school attitudes."

The present study adds that, from grade to grade, both formal and informal sorting and grouping led to the self-fulfilling legitimization (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968; McDermott 1977) of differential teaching and learning experiences within a distinct "tracking" system.

At Deerfield, the "lower" classes were highly differentiated; same-color informal groupings, within the classroom, were characteristic. In the "high" sections, there was comparatively more cross-color interaction. The point here is that, in the absence of formal "tracking," cross-color interactions are more frequent. Ability grouping became formalized in the second and third grade; here, clothing and appearance variations between "high" and "low" sections were

more pronounced than within class variation. Appendix I illustrates that most of the black students, especially the males, were in the "low" sections. As concerns patterns of grooming, hygiene (Miner 1956), and skin color within "low" classes, not the manner in which Ray C. Rist's (1970:419-420) observations parallel the characteristics in charts A and B.

> "An additional aspect of the physical appearance of the children related to their body odor. While none of the children at Table 1 came to class with an odor of urine on them, there were two children at Table 2 and five children at Table 3 who frequently had such an odor. There was not a clear distinction among the children at the various tables as to the degree of 'blackness' of their skin, but there were more children at the third table with very dark skin (five in all) than there were at the first table (three). There was also a noticeable distinction among the various groups of children as to the condition of their hair. While the three boys at Table 1 all had short hair cuts and the six girls at the same table had their hair 'processed' and combed, the number of children with either matted or unprocessed hair increased at Table 2 (two boys and three girls) and eight of the children at Table 3 (four boys and four girls). None of the children in the kindergarten class wore their hair in the style of a 'natural.'"

At Deerfield, as one moved from grade to grade, cross-color similarities and differences in dress and grooming increased; school organization increasingly reflected class rather than color. Both black and white, the students in the "low" sections tended to be the children of the "newcomers." Cultures, of course, are integrated wholes; it is to be expected that enculturation/acculturation systems recepitulate the larger culture and society. School social organization subdivided students along socioeconomic and ethnic lines reflective of the four-class social organization in the local community. Additionally, Deerfield's small school size, while exhibiting narrow and rather well-defined communication channels between the school and the community, also rendered it rather difficult for low-status students to escape these covert sorting criteria; teachers were familiar with the condition and status of most

every family in the community.

Strangely reminiscent of the preMendelian stress on the nonparticulate transmission of essentially polytipic characteristics, it seems as if we are asked to believe that academic standing and success is invariably associated with, if not determined, by non-academic contingencies such as clothing and appearance. After several months of cross-section observation, this observer could walk into any classroom and predict, as based on such aspects as clothing and appearance, the academic ability ascribed to that group of children. Quite apart from "ability" then, it would seem that students exhibiting either set of characteristics summarized in charts A and B undoubtedly will initially be labeled as either "high" or "low" academic material. As reflected in school folk terminology and social organization, what is termed "academic ability" is nonparticulate; "ability" seems to be invariably associated with other non-cognitive contingent characteristics and traits.

Implications

As reflecting socioeconomic standing and ethnic or subcultural orientation, patterns of similarity and difference in student dress and appearance parrallel both the formal and informal "tracking" system in public schools. More to the point, I claim that, within this system, subtle but powerful mechanisms act so as to maintain and legitimize differential learning environments; that, within such a system, desegregation efforts cannot be expected to produce a high quality or quantity of cross-color as well as cross-class social interaction. If this be the case, then what does "desegregated" come to mean? Is "desegregation" simply cross-color proximity; if so, then the classroom situations previously discussed become perfectly acceptable. This report suggests that latent factors such as dress and appearance will be seized upon in negating the interactive potential of such proximity.

A desegregated situation ought to be distinguished by the persistent lack

of internally differentiated student grouping of teaching and learning environments and experiences; environments and experiences themselves based on contingent non-academic, stigmatizing, and ascribed status characteristics. As concerns outcomes, the aim here ought not so much be the fostering of black/white interaction for its own sake as the fostering of nondifferentiated (on bases other than academic ability) and egalitarian learning environments.

As astute men and women, social psychologists, and fashion designers are well aware, different modes of dress and appearance stimulate different attitudinal and behavioral responses (Flugel 1966). In some studies by home economists (Douty 1963, for example), Anglo high school students have been shown pictures of an Anglo male face in various modes of dress--from business suits to laboring clothes. Respondents were to label each type of dress with a corresponding personality and character trait. Analysis demonstrated that a laboring dress made the person "rough" while a business suite made the person "dignified." Ryan (1966) noted the characteristic manner in which high school student decisions about (same-color) interaction and friendship patterns were made on the basis of initial impressions of clothing styles and condition of dress. Students make associations between character, personality, and mode of dress. Littrell and Eicher (1973) put forth a statistical association between style and condition of dress and degree of peer isolation or acceptance. "Poorly" dress (same-color) students were socially isolated because they were "bad." Carlyle was correct; through the responses of others, you become what you wear. All of this, of course, allows for status ascription through impression management (Goffman 1963). In the classroom as elsewhere, it is not so much that clothing makes the person; clothing <u>is</u> the person.

In our stratified society, many would argue that school stratification cannot be eradicated. It seems though, that <u>local</u> schools might better tend their own gardens in, initially, becoming aware of, then evaluating and acting

upon the attitudes and structures legitimizing and reinforcing sociocultural stratification. One must not "blame the victims;" if specific schools can be shown to act upon specific differentials, then they, at least logically, can be held accountable for finding specific solutions. Many of the causes of student success and failure in schools is owing to institutional rather than cognitive, behavioral, or subcultural causes.

Uniformity of dress, grooming, and body decoration has long been recognized as a desegregating technique. In studies of small-scale culturally homogeneous societies, ethnographers have documented the symbolic functions of clothing and body decoration.[5] Particular patterns of dress come to symbolize age and sex groupings as well as attendant rights, obligations, and status. Quite often, rite of passage transitions are coterminous with observed changes in dress and decoration (Van Gennep 1960). In such societies, mode of dress and appearance are consistent <u>across</u> age and sex groups <u>as a whole</u>; the enculturation system does not internally stratify. Uniformity in dress and appearance effectively controls the schism between ascribed and achieved status. In large-scale culturally heterogeneous societies, the situation is exactly the reverse. Here, the acculturation of subgroups into a stratified sociocultural organization is reflected in dress and appearance. In feudal China, only the nobility were permitted the wearing of silk; only Emperors, as symbols of their leisure, grew long fingernails. European peasants were not permitted the daggars and swords worn by feudal lords. Only the priestly ruling class could wear the feather garments and gold ornaments symbolic of Aztec culture. In all of these instances then, differential enculturation and acculturation into a class-based system meant the internal stratification of age and sex groups; differences in dress and appearance symbolized the reality of ascribed status. It would seem then, that the consideration of uniform dress would logically cross-cut the ascribed status illustrated in

the present classroom descriptions.

A Modest Proposal

Beginning in middle elementary school, school uniforms and standardized dress might be made compulsory in, especially, public schools characterized by extreme discontinuities in class and/or color. In private schools, uniforms are a traditional mechanism for student status equalization; the implicit aim seems to be the reinforcement of more homogeneous, egalitarian, integrative, meritorious, and democratic teaching and learning environments. In speaking to the use of uniforms in Japanese public schools, Singleton (1967:29) says that

> "Outward symbols of the child's change in status are school clothing and forms of adult name usage. A new uniform is worn because the Nichu school requires it. Most of the children wear uniforms to the elementary school in the upper grades, but they are not required by the school. The middle school uniform is of a different design and the brass buttons are embossed with the Chinese characters for "Nichu." Boys wear black trousers and high-collared coats with attached celluloid collars. Girls wear sailor suits of navy blue. The ostensible purpose of the prescribed uniform is to eliminate socioeconomic distinctions among students that would be made explicit in the clothes worn to school. That parents insist on school uniforms is the common reason that teachers give for their required usage. There is no national policy to either promote or discourage the use of uniforms.

Paralleling the acculturation of various Japanese ethnic groups, in the Caribbean we find that

> "In Trinidad, British West Indies, the boys and girls who attend the public schools all wear school uniforms, usually a white shirt or blouse and dark colored shorts or skirts. An additional advantage arises because of the mixture of many races in Trinidad, these including white, mulatto, Negro, East Indian and Chinese. By wearing the same uniform, these children tend to de-emphasize racial differences in public life, no matter what takes place at home. No one is regarded as racially superior at school because of his or her clothes. A lesson in democracy can be learned by the use of such clothes in all countries where racial problems exist. (Langner 1959:146)

Importantly, the use of uniforms in public schools would emphasize the more important schism between private and public schooling in highlighting the class basis of American education. As such, one can expect considerable resistance to this proposal--especially among school constituents recognizing a threat to ascribe status. Thus, even more subtle markers would be cued as the enculturation/acculturation system seeks an unequal but homeostatic realignment.

Unfortunately, we popularly associate uniforms with the armed services or with prisons; uniforms symbolize regimentation and authoritarianism. Ironically, in reducing the visual, sociocultural cues of ascribed status and role, uniformity of dress reinforces egalitarianism. The ideology of democracy and "individualism" itself reinforces patterns of segregation and stratification antithetical to that very ideology (Johnson 1976b). Latent markers, such as clothing and dress, permit the fiction of choice to persist in the midst of structural inequality.

Along with Federal funds for desegregation, school districts might receive funding for uniforms. Ethnographic data from classrooms could illustrate the manner in which such factors as appearance, dress, and hygiene affect the learning environment; it is not enough to say that such factors ought not to make a difference in educational outcomes. Attempts to control continuing resegregation would require periodic ethnographic monitoring--with special attention to non-academic contingencies. Of course, the final problem is the national class/color system of differential, unequal access to strategic resources to which local enculturation/acculturation systems must align. This is not to say that color and class will not continue to be stigmatized; I am only proposing a solution to its not being conveyed through socioeconomic circumstances reflected in clothing and appearance. If applied to desegregated public schools, this proposal would contribute to a lessening of cross and

intra-color peer hostility; reduced stigmatization should increase student attendance, self-confidence and academic performance. In increasing school rather than clique identity, one might speculate on decreasing school violence. Further research ought to explore the cross-color desegregation of military academies, parochial and private schools, and similar situations illustrating the leveling function of standardized dress. A hypothesis here is that, in emphasizing similarities rather than differences, such situations increase cross-color interaction and friendships as well as structuring egalitarian teaching and learning environments.

Assuming consistency of socioeconomic class, the cross-color desegregation of public schools ought to present significantly less between-group variation in clothing and appearance; the within-group variations illustrated here ought to be significantly less. The factor of differential clothing and appearance patterns cueing resegregation seems significant in those cross-color situations exhibiting pronounced within-group socioeconomic class variations.

Summary

Clothing, dress, and body decoration are very nearly constant for all human groups. These items can serve cultural and symbolic as well as protective and decorative functions. Clothing reinforces group identity as well as reinforcing intragroup stratification. Recent efforts at school desegregation by color are hindered by the cueing of subtle status differentials perpetuating existing systemic inequality. Desegregation strategies must take into account the complicating factor of socioeconomic and subcultural variability both within and across color populations. Clothing and appearance are a potential basis for both formal and informal color and class resegregation. Attention to differential clothing and appearance patterns will clue researchers to the local school and community dynamics of color and class interaction.

Hypothetically at least, cultures such as the contemporary Amish to the contemporary mainland Chinese illustrate the egalitarian and leveling function of uniform dress. Theoretically, uniform dress would eliminate some of the inequality in public school education in the United States.

APPENDIX I

Average numbers of students by sex and color
per three classroom observations

Grade	"Low" Sections	"High" Sections	Ages
Preschool	6 black males; 8 black females 5 white males; 7 white females		4-5
Kindergarten	5 black males 4 black females 9 white males 8 white females	6 black males 7 black females 5 white males 6 white females	5-6
First Grade	8 black males 4 black females 3 white males 4 white females	6 black males 5 black females 6 white males 8 white females	7-8
Second Grade	6 black males 4 black females 2 white males 4 white females	4 black males 4 black females 6 white males 7 white females	8-9
Third Grade	7 black males 5 black females 4 white males 1 white female	2 black males 9 black females 6 white males 6 white females	9-10
Fourth Grade	12 black males 9 black females 6 white males 4 white females	4 black males 7 black females 5 white males 5 white females	10-11
Fifth/Sixth Grade	49 black males 71 black females 41 white males 19 white females	36 black males 49 black females 30 white males 24 white females	11-13

NOTES

1. Data on which this paper is based was gathered from March 1974 through April 1975. Research was supported by NIMH grant #MH58496-01.

2. Leacock (1977) affirms this point in claiming that student polarization is as much along class as along color lines. As reiterated by Rosenfeld (1971), the problem is that Americans are uncomfortable with the notion of class. Again, the conflict is between ideology and structure (Sahlins 1965). Leacock also notes the manner in which high-status people continue to validate and perpetuate their differential position and experience. Her "we/they" dicotomy parallels my "oldtimer/newcomer" distinction.

3. This report on a rural, cross-color situation provides a counterpoint to a near exclusive focus on urban black schools in the relevant literature.

4. This methodology frees one from what Erickson (1977) terms "the tyrrany of the single case."

5. For a representative, ethnological consideration of clothing and dress, see Driver (1969). In particular, Driver notes the association between status, role, and differential dress and clothing in state-level societies.

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